



# SOCIAL ACTION

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TOWARD



INTEGRATION

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## SOCIAL ACTION Magazine

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# Toward Racial Integration

This issue of *Social Action* highlights one of the Number One problem-areas of American life, if not *the* Number One problem. If democracy is going to be genuine, then the citizenry of our nation must arouse themselves about this matter of inter-racial misunderstanding and prejudice.

But this matter is not only a problem faced by the Democracy. It is also an ecclesiastical problem. Indeed, perhaps the burden rests more heavily upon our doorstep in the Church than at any other place in the national life.

We have had resolutions a-plenty about the need for better race relations. We have held an adequate number of institutes and forums and roundtables. But somehow that has not been adequate. What we in the Church have need now to do is to examine ourselves in the light of Conscience—the Christian Conscience which is sensitive to the visible applications of our doctrines.

Can the Church expect to preach about "One World," when its own ranks are split into color segments? Can the Church condemn secular sins in this area, the while she herself has practiced discrimination, or has remained passive concerning changing populations around her local branches? Can the Church rail against restrictive housing covenants, and at the same time condone the churches' participation in them? These are a few of the very practical, cutting questions which our religious concern for racial integration raises in our hearts and minds.

Ultimately, we must do something about the "problem", and do it in our own communities. We need to do some hard thinking and then some devout acting. The articles in this issue will help us do the former and can stimulate us to do the latter.

KENDIG BRUBAKER CULLY

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# Community Action Against **SEGREGATION**

By ROBERT C. WEAVER

## There are Basic Issues to Be Met

Democracy is a way of life. Seldom is it stronger than its expression in the countless neighborhoods and communities that make up the nation. Today, as never before, it is imperiled by our continuing failure to extend the essence of the Sermon on the Mount, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution to all those who are America. Nowhere are our deficiencies greater than in our treatment of color minorities. Nowhere are the champions of the Christian ethic and the American Creed challenged more than on the interracial front.

### *Start in Your Community*

If you want to contribute toward the development of sound human relations in this nation, the place to start is in your own community. In your own family, in your church, in your neighborhood school, in your place of business, at your college, in the public facilities in your community, in the housing in your city, and in your local government—in all of these there are enough bad spots to demand your first attention. When you have made progress in establishing truly democratic practices in these local institutions, and when you have become a community force in opposing discrimination and the spread of segregation, you can, with conviction and prestige, turn to the broader and more distant problems of bigotry.

Professional race-relating and good-willing are not effective. People don't grow to understand and work with each other in the rarefied atmosphere of meeting to spread sweetness and light. Only when individuals come together under normal



conditions to consider and act upon specific, well-defined issues (as they did in labor unions during the war) do they learn to appreciate each other and work together. Therefore, interracial teas, conferences to solve *all* the problems of human relations, or formalized Brotherhood Weeks mean little. They may even be dangerous because they can give the participants a false sense of doing something really important. What is needed is concentration upon specific community issues which cut across special group problems and around which people can organize and act jointly. When there is a local calamity such as a flood or a serious epidemic, or a threat to the safety of a neighborhood, people do act together. The effective forces for intergroup understanding must bring these same people into cooperative action to solve the chronic community ills of tensions, fears and hatreds.

### The Author

DR. ROBERT C. WEAVER is a graduate of Harvard University. He is Director of Community Services of the American Council on Race Relations. For over ten years he served in the Federal Government as Adviser on Negro Affairs in the Department of the Interior, Special Assistant to the Administrator, U.S. Housing Authority, Director of Negro training and employment in the Office of Production Management and the War Production Board, and Director of Negro Manpower in the War Manpower Commission. In 1946 he spent four months in Russia as a member of the UNRRA mission to the Ukraine. He is the author of the recent volume, *Negro Labor: A National Problem*. His articles on labor, housing and race relations have appeared in the learned journals and in more popular magazines such as the *Atlantic Monthly*. He is a member of the Fellowship Committee of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, served as a Consultant to President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education,



—Washington Press Photo

and was a member of the Advisory Committee of the American Youth Commission which assisted in the preparation of the Commission's studies of Negro youth in American society.

### *Tackle the Basic Issues*

The peculiar nature of a community and the sequence of local events will determine which issues are strategic. Care should be taken, however, to guard against tackling surface manifestations of problems, because the really basic issues are deep-rooted and difficult. Being concerned about the personal life of your Negro maid, for example, is a noble sentiment. It does not, however, contribute much toward the solution of the pressing problems of intergroup relations in your community. Economic security, decent housing, equal protection under the law, free access to public facilities and well-directed programs of public education are fundamental in intergroup relations. It is doubtful if your community can long evade these issues; it is important that they be faced at once.

### **The Will to Act**

Many individuals and some organizations are resolved to do something about race relations. Church groups are no exception. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, meeting in Columbus, Ohio, in March, 1946, analyzed the segregation pattern and found it a key to the unsatisfactory state of race relations in America. "The pattern of racial segregation in America," said the Federal Council, "is given moral sanction by the fact that churches and church institutions, as a result of social pressure, have so largely accepted the pattern of racial segregation in their own life and practice. . . . Men and God will find themselves frustrated and defeated when they attempt to live out their Christian impulses within a racially segregated society. . . . The Church, having chosen to renounce the segregated pattern as a violation of its gospel of love, and having outlined steps by which the practice of segregation may be corrected within its own life, must next direct her attention to the community within



which the Christian Church functions.”<sup>1</sup>

It is to this last responsibility, the removal of racial segregation in the community, that this paper is directed. The first requirement is a will to act on the interracial front. Today, among most Americans, this will is lacking. Occasionally the threat of a serious conflict or a national emergency leads to some short-run remedial programs for the most glaring defects in intergroup relations. Seldom, if ever, have our communities organized to meet the basic issues. As a matter of fact, the people who have the controls either attempt to ignore these problems of human relations or minimize their importance, thereby giving respectability and social acceptance to patterns of discrimination and segregation. Prejudice is not effectively challenged, and those who lead the campaign for intergroup understanding become a small cult whose interests are usually enough to brand them as visionaries.

### *Community Self-Surveys*

In order partially to offset these tendencies, a new technique of community self-surveys has been developed. This project, involving the collection and analysis of facts by a large number of lay citizens, has many advantages, but it may be a self-defeating activity if its sponsors fail to realize its limitations. In proportion as competent and adequate technical guidance is employed, the resulting material will furnish a guide for the intelligent development and effective operation of remedial programs for action. But most important, self-surveys expose a large number of citizens to a face-to-face acquaintanceship with existing human problems in the community. This experience with primary data is significant, and as a result of it and the facts that are collected, there is developed a body of representative citizens who can be recruited to support and reinforce remedial programs for social betterment.

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1. *The Church and Race Relations* (New York: Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 1946), pp. 3, 5, 7.

*It should always be remembered that the self-survey is but a first step in the community approach to intergroup problems—it means little unless it is followed by community organization and detailed programs for action. The self-survey serves primarily to create greater community acceptance for the forthcoming action.<sup>2</sup> And it is wholly inapplicable in cities where existing organizations have current facts about minorities and established programs to meet the needs.*

## Fair Employment and Free Consumption

Much has been written about the need for national, state and local legislation requiring fair employment practices. The enactment of such legislation and the assurance of full employment are basic; as long as there is no general necessity to afford equal job opportunities for racial groups, the timid will hesitate to change existing practices and the prejudiced will continue to establish undemocratic precedents. At the same time, it is only in an economy of jobs for all that fair employment can be achieved. For as long as there is not enough work to go around, employment of Negroes or other minorities comes to represent a threat to a job for individuals who, in their insecurity, have to find a scapegoat and another group upon which they can look down.

### ***Must be a Federal FEPC***

It is clear that unless there is federal FEPC legislation, equal job opportunities for all groups in the nation will not typify our society.<sup>3</sup> Also, recent successes with state FEPC's in New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts indicate that

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2. For an outline of community organization and action in intergroup relations, see the present writer's *Community Relations Manual* (Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1945).

3. For an analysis of the wartime changes in Negro employment and for a statement of the need for federal and state fair employment legislation, see the present writer's *Negro Labor: A National Problem* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946).



well-conceived state laws are of great importance.<sup>4</sup> One phase of this problem, however, has been neglected. It relates to the place of city ordinances for fair employment practices.<sup>5</sup> In many states with large rural populations and the concentration of minorities in urban centers, it is most difficult to secure state FEPC legislation. At the same time, the need for protection is concentrated in a few cities where it is less difficult to secure political support for such legislation. It is important, therefore, to press for municipal fair employment ordinances in those regions where state action seems remote and where municipalities have legal authority to regulate conditions of employment.

### ***Support New Patterns of Employment***

Communities in America and their people are strategic in determining what happens to minorities in the expanding service, public utility and amusement industries. The most symbolic of these is retail trade, and the most obvious job in stores is that of salesperson. Negroes are attempting to enter this field of employment and the denial of opportunity to them is often based upon management's assertion that the public would object to colored clerks. There is need, therefore, for a representative group of consumers to indicate dramatically and emphatically that they are concerned with efficient service and not with the color of the hand that waits upon them.

The proposal for marshalling public support to encourage new patterns of employment is not as novel as it may appear at first. When, during the war, the Philadelphia Transit Company was urged to hire Negro motormen and conductors, management claimed that the public would object. Fellowship House, an effective, local Quaker organization, decided to

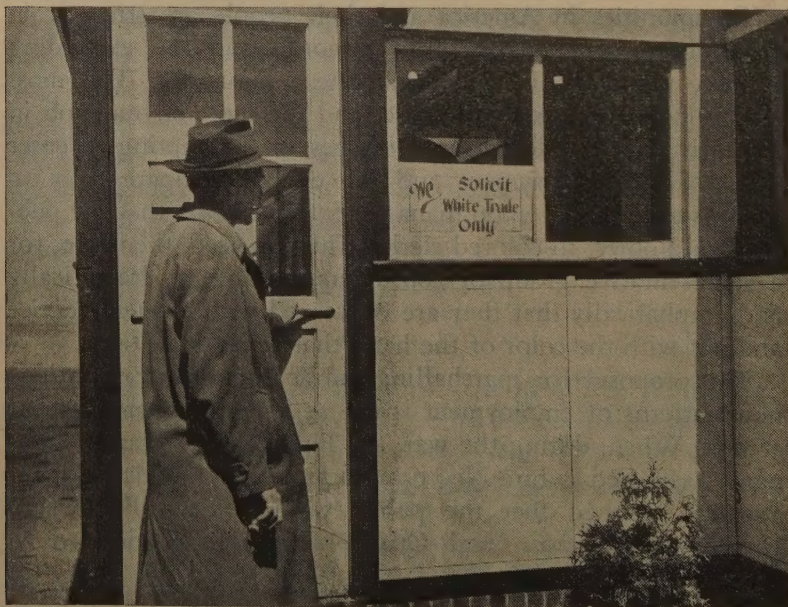
4. For an early account of the operations of the first state FEPC, see Elmer A. Carter, "Fighting Prejudice with Law," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, January, 1946, pp. 299-306.

5. An analysis of these ordinances by Alec Elson will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *Yale Law Review* under the title, "Local Regulation of Discriminatory Employment Practices."

challenge the statement. In a short time, it and associated organizations presented a petition signed by 12,500 citizens from all walks of life, emphatically approving and endorsing the employment of Negro platform workers. In a similar situation in Los Angeles, resolutions from varied types of local organizations were employed to accomplish the same object. In both instances, the community, through its agencies and the acts of its citizens, went on record in favor of fair employment practices in a specific situation at a time when the racial patterns of employment on a public utility were being challenged.

### *Free Access to Amusements*

Earning a living is basic. But there is little use in having money unless one can enjoy it. Today, in America, colored



—PM Photo by Leo Lieb

An East Coast restaurant makes public by a sign the policy of discrimination against Negroes. Mr. Weaver describes strategy for reducing discrimination in public eating and amusement places.



people are denied service in restaurants, refused admission to skating rinks and bowling alleys, and not accepted by downtown hotels. Often this occurs despite state civil rights laws banning such discrimination. This is one of the most inconvenient and frustrating aspects of the color-caste system. It is a situation that demands the attention of those who are concerned with making democracy real for all elements in the population.

Many techniques have been developed to deal with this problem. In La Grange, Illinois, a small suburb of Chicago, for example, there was a question about the admittance of four Negro students to the graduation luncheon in a tea-room outside the village. The president of the senior class came to the Interracial Fellowship organization and asked assistance. The group gave the names of members and friends who could be counted on to write to the manager and request the admittance of the colored graduates. The result was that for the first time in the history of the high school, Negro students participated in their graduation luncheon in the out-of-town tearoom.

This approach is adapted to smaller towns and villages. In the larger cities where there are few real neighborhoods with stability and less general acquaintanceship in the population, it offers little guidance. Such larger communities, however, have similar problems, and there are successful experiences of meeting the issue in them.

### *Overcoming Discrimination in Cities*

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has overcome discrimination in public places of amusement and in restaurants in large urban centers. A segment of the interracial membership presents itself as customers in a restaurant, theatre or skating rink. When Negro members are refused service or subjected to insults or other forms of discrimination, the group demands equal treatment. In this manner Negro customers are supported by whites who champion their right to service;

at the same time, it is made certain that witnesses are on hand for possible testimony in a suit under the state civil rights law.

This type of program involves negotiation, actual attempts to secure equal service, picketing, threat of legal action, initiation of civil rights suits, sit-down strikes, appeals to the decency of other white patrons, and public relations. Wherever possible, an attempt is first made to secure a change of policy through negotiation and reason. In many instances the goodwill approach has proved successful, but where it has been inadequate, carefully worked out plans have quickly supplemented it with the sort of action that brings management in line. A good example of this is the technique of having groups of Negroes and whites arrive at a discriminating restaurant in relays. In one instance, management refused to seat the colored members of each group. Their white friends sat down but refused to start eating; meanwhile the Negroes remained in line. Other patrons became interested, too, and remained seated to see the outcome. At last one of them asked a Negro to join her at a table. CORE members followed suit, and only two colored persons remained standing; finally, they were ushered to a table by the hostess. "Spontaneous, unrestrained applause swept the big restaurant."<sup>6</sup>

### *Civil Rights Unit in Chicago*

Although Illinois has long had civil rights legislation and has recently made an ineffective gesture towards enforcing the law, Negroes are usually denied equal treatment in public places outside Chicago. In the latter city, too, many restaurants,

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6. Helen Buckler, "The CORE Way," *Survey Graphic*, February, 1946, p. 60. "CORE campaigns are based on careful planning. Every step is worked out in advance, and unforeseen on-the-spot decisions are made by a leader chosen beforehand, whom all have agreed to obey. . . ." (CORE is) "committed not to compromise with racial segregation, but to use constructive, not destructive approaches to the situation. Groups, all interracial, submit to careful training. They do not enter upon negotiations that promise difficulties until they are sure that all members will be able to absorb possible violence without retaliation." *Ibid.*, p. 51.



places of amusement and hotels refuse to wait upon or welcome colored customers, and when colored citizens move into new neighborhoods they are often subjected to violence against property and person. The organizations interested in better intergroup relations in the city have repeatedly objected to the situation. Finally, in 1946, an ordinance forbidding racial discrimination by retail stores, theatres, transportation lines and other businesses was introduced in the City Council. Although the bill was not passed, action was taken. The Corporation Counsel of Chicago established the first Civil Rights Unit in the law department of a municipality. "In establishing a Civil Rights Unit," the Corporation Counsel said, "the city of Chicago is accepting its responsibility to the people to protect them in all their rights as citizens. In addition to those rights set forth in the federal and state constitutions and amendments, the Civil Rights Unit will be concerned with all other civil rights conferred upon citizens by statute law." Although it is too soon to evaluate the work of the Civil Rights Unit, its establishment does create a new machinery which the proponents of justice can call upon to protect the rights of all ethnic groups in the city.

## Segregated Schools Can Be Abolished

Although segregation in schools is not required by law outside the South and in border states, and in spite of the fact that some states prohibit separate schools for white and colored pupils, many northern cities have *de facto* separate schools for Negroes, and, on the West Coast, for Mexicans. They are one of the worst features of American life because they place the stamp of official approval upon segregation; at the same time, they prevent normal contacts between Negroes and whites during the period when racial attitudes are first formulated in the minds of future citizens. Recent events in Trenton, N. J., and to a lesser degree in Gary, Indiana, indicate that segregation in public schools can be broken down

through action on the community level.

### ***How Trenton's Schools Were Changed***

For many years all colored children of junior high school age, regardless of where they lived, were sent to the Lincoln Junior High School in Trenton. During the war, a Negro family established through litigation the right to send its child to the nearest junior high school. The Civic Unity Committee then challenged segregation in the local school system. The Board of Education refused to act and suggested that any aggrieved parents had the same recourse to the courts as did the family which had established its right to send its child to the nearest school. The Board of Education asserted that mixed schools retarded the development of leadership among Negroes. This the Committee denied, and in a well presented memorandum made available to the public, pointed out that the schools were preparing students to live in a bi-racial world. The best preparation for such living, it pointed out, was training in schools where Negroes had a chance to associate with, respect and earn the respect of their white fellows.

The complete statement of the Committee, with its cogent arguments, its voluminous quotations from educators and authors, and the ammunition that it offered for an all-out attack upon the School Board, was most impressive. It and the clearly worded decision of the court were sufficient to effect the desired change. Had the School Board hesitated further to act, the Committee was prepared to make the Board's position untenable. The very fact that such material was in the hands of the editor of the leading newspaper (who is chairman of the Civic Unity Committee) and was known by an important segment of the population was in itself an effective pressure.

As a result of these efforts, the *New York Herald-Tribune* could report, in December, 1945, that Trenton was solving the racial issue in its school system. That paper specifically asserted that the "Committee for Unity wins fight to end segregation of Negroes in Junior High." The present arrangement,



under which Negro teachers are being assigned to white districts for the first time in the history of the city and the Board of Education has passed a resolution abolishing the segregated junior high school, was facilitated by a combination of court action and the efforts of a citizens' committee and other local organizations to arouse public opinion in support of the reform. This experience is not only an example of the sort of effective action which can be taken at the community level to achieve racial democracy, but it is also proof that litigation can and does modify discrimination and that the average American community accepts new racial patterns decreed by the courts of the land.

### *End of Segregated Schools in Gary*

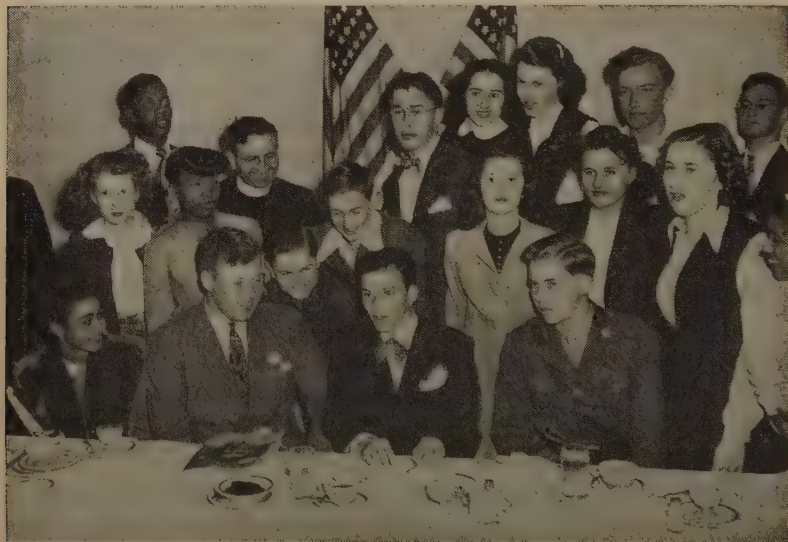
In 1945, a group of white students at the Froebel school in Gary, where certain facilities were closed to Negroes, who constituted about 40 per cent of the student body, struck against a modification of patterns of discrimination. This precipitated a community-wide problem of major importance, and many groups entered the picture. Among them was the American Council on Race Relations, which offered assistance and sponsored several projects. Frank Sinatra, for example, was brought from the West Coast to sing and speak at a mass meeting of the striking students. Out of these activities and the threat of a second strike at the Froebel school, the Gary Unity Council was formed in March, 1946. This was the beginning of a rally of community forces against the strike leadership; from that point on, the liberal forces began to organize themselves so as to influence public opinion.

The School Committee of the Gary Unity Council worked throughout the summer. It was assisted by other local organizations, notably, the newly-created Gary Urban League, and many groups presented materials and appeals to the Board of Education. The result was that the Board passed a resolution stating that segregation in the public schools would be

eliminated in 1947. In the fall of 1946 the Superintendent of Schools and other members of the school administration announced plans for the elimination of separate schools. Ultimate success of the plans will depend, in large measure, upon the constant activity and interest of the Unity Council and other citizens' groups in the city. One of the important responsibilities of the Council is to develop increasingly community support for the move to establish democratic patterns in the schools.

### ***Intercultural Programs***

No reference has been made so far to the development of intercultural programs in our schools. This does not reflect lack of appreciation for the significance of such efforts. It is due, rather, to the writer's belief that there is a tendency to see in intercultural education a cure-all for community prob-



—Acme

Frank Sinatra meets with officers of the Gary, Indiana, high school racial affairs organization, the Anselm Youth Forum, before addressing the student body on race prejudice. White students had struck for a segregated school.



lems of human relations. As a matter of fact, intercultural education is important; it is, however, a long-run measure. Education for intergroup understanding cannot succeed unless it is nurtured in a favorable setting. And such a setting must expose students to normal, relaxed daily experiences with students and teachers of other ethnic groups. Consequently, the weakening and removal of segregation in schools is a necessary condition for successful intercultural education.

There is another factor. Techniques for effective intercultural education require the services of highly trained specialists, and as the layman reads what they are doing, he fears to rush into the arena of discussion and evaluation. For the average citizen, it is enough to demand and support the development of intercultural programs, the services of competent consultants to evaluate what is being done in the community, and action to create democracy in the public schools.

## The House We Live In

There is hardly an aspect of minority group problems in the United States that is not related to housing. Restricted areas, high rents and inferior accommodations spell economic exploitation, ill health, inadequate schools and hospitals, and economic exploitation. They lead to segregated schools in areas where such separation has no legal basis. They bring suffering, despair, disillusionment and frustration. They encourage adult and juvenile delinquency. They invite and nurture political corruption and cynicism. They foster inter-group antagonisms and group chauvinism.

### *Cost of Residential Segregation*

Today, as America attempts to rehouse its people, residential segregation stands as a threat to the development of adequate shelter. Lack of flexibility in land use is incompatible with the reclamation of slum areas, urban rehabilitation and the carrying out of city plans. Consequently, removal of arti-

ficial barriers to the expansion of areas open to colored minorities is more than a problem of intergroup relations. It is a major problem in city planning. At the same time, ghettos in America have occasioned the congestion of colored people into too little space. As a result, grave economic and social problems have arisen.

Any effective action to modify the color-caste system in the nation must challenge residential segregation. The National Catholic Welfare Conference has recognized this fact, and in its most recent pronouncement on race relations it has observed:

Segregation, enforced by law or custom, must be exposed as an un-American institution, contrary not only to Christian laws of charity and justice but also to the fundamental principle of democratic rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. . . . Catholics should discountenance the enforcement of restrictive covenants and work for their removal. Catholics should join with their neighbors in helping to integrate Negro residents on the basis of good neighborliness, rather than abandoning a neighborhood into which Negroes are moving.<sup>7</sup>

Restrictive housing covenants are the principal instrument by which colored minorities are excluded from certain areas. The challenging of these extra-legal devices in the courts demands the attention of competent lawyers. Organizations concerned with democratic living can lend a hand by interpreting the issue, appearing as a friend of the litigants who oppose the enforcement of racial covenants (through filing briefs *amicus curiae*), and taking the lead in opposing the spread of racial restrictions in housing. In several cities, agencies concerned with human relations and housing have passed resolutions condemning restrictive housing covenants against racial groups. In Chicago, for example, the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations took the lead and publicly condemned such covenants. This action was supported by a statement indicating the costs of residential segregation and clearly asserting

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7. *Seminar on Negro Problems in the Field of Social Action* (Washington: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1946), p. 17 and p. 33.

that the satisfactory housing of colored minorities cannot be achieved in the framework of ghetto living. The Chicago Public Housing Conference followed the lead and passed a resolution condemning racial covenants. Then, the Metropolitan Housing Council went on record as opposed to restrictive covenants.

Such community action is but a first step. It must be supplemented by action on the part of organizations and individuals. In New York City, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company built an enormous housing project, Stuyvesant Town, under the Urban Rehabilitation Law which provided for partial tax exemption. Despite this indirect subsidy from the city,



—Acme

An unidentified white woman is knocked down as violence flares at the Airport Homes Veterans' Housing Project in Chicago. Overt protest by white persons in the neighborhood began when two Negro families started to move into homes assigned them by the Federal Housing Authority.



the company decided to bar Negroes. This aroused a storm of protests, and the City Council passed an ordinance forbidding discrimination in the selection of tenants for housing which enjoys tax exemption. This type of municipal action represents an effective technique to prevent the spread of residential segregation.

Despite restrictive housing covenants, colored people do move into new areas. This is usually accompanied by resistance of the older residents, sometimes violence, and usually the ultimate out-movement of all whites. The result is the creation of a new ghetto or the extension of an existing one. Two types of counter-action are therefore required. The first should seek to minimize resistance to the introduction of colored families and the second should attempt to effect an orderly entrance so that the older residents will not be impelled to move out.

### *The Organizing of Community Pressure*

In meeting the first need, the attitude and leadership of enlightened individuals is important. Here is what one American did. The Boosters Club of Portola Heights, California, initiated action against three non-white families which had moved into the community despite the existence of race restrictive covenants. Albert Thomas, a home owner in the area and a member of the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity, challenged the Club. On the day following its protest action, he called a meeting of the Council for Civic Unity and requested advice and assistance. It was forthcoming and a plan of action developed involving the following steps:

Persons living in the Portola Heights area were invited to constitute a new organization known as the Neighborhood Committee.

The Committee opposed race restrictive covenants and pledged support to the minority families threatened with court action.

The Committee sponsored a meeting at which it told the community the real issues involved and secured additional support for its position.

The Council on Civic Unity cooperated fully and gave technical assistance.

Shortly after this, the threatened court suit for eviction was brought. The Committee and the Council swung into renewed action, and the case attracted widespread attention. Newspapers were supplied with the full details of the issue, and letters to the editor began to pour in, endorsing the stand of the Committee. Favorable editorials, in the cause of true democracy, appeared in the papers, and additional organizations entered the discussion. The Committee followed up with a house-to-house campaign. Suddenly, community pressure became effective, and the plaintiff announced to the press that he was withdrawing the case.

Still Mr. Thomas was not satisfied. He called his neighbors' attention to the fact that as long as race restrictive covenants existed, minorities would be subject to legal action if they lived in the area. Consequently, he announced that the Committee would continue its fight against racial covenants. The organization, which meets regularly, is following that program, and it is getting the signatures of home owners in favor of the revocation of racial restrictive covenants. The whole area around San Francisco is, as a result of the action initiated by one citizen, better informed and better prepared to face the problem of housing its residents.

### ***Church Action in Chicago***

In 1945, a colored family of Chicago moved into the area where the Erie Chapel Presbyterian Church is located. The residents threatened the new arrivals and damaged the property they occupied. The Reverend Douglas Cedarleaf, minister of the Church, assisted by the staff of Erie Neighborhood House, led his congregation through the streets to the home of the Negro family. There the new residents were welcomed to the neighborhood and into the fellowship and activities of Erie Neighborhood House. This action, appropriately enough, followed the conclusion of Mr. Cedarleaf's sermon on Brother-

hood Sunday.<sup>8</sup> It represents one of the few instances when such a sermon has been instrumental in encouraging immediate and direct action.

The significance of this event was quickly recognized. In March of 1946, the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People presented Mr. Cedarleaf with a plaque for the most significant contribution toward the betterment of race relations in the city during the preceding year. The recipient observed on that occasion, "It is an historic occasion when a Christian minister is given an award for being a Christian."<sup>9</sup>

Whether or not communities are prepared to meet the problem, in the next few years a large number of colored people will move into new neighborhoods. This can be an orderly, planned and peaceful development which will lead to greater understanding between racial groups, or it can follow the traditional pattern of resistance, possible violence, extension of segregation and the rapid exodus of all white occupants in the areas. The outcome depends in large measure upon the degree to which the community and the city are informed of the issues involved. Much depends, therefore, upon the readiness and ability of the community to encourage planning for minority groups' entrance to new areas.

A part of the opposition to colored neighbors is due to the fact that they have become associated with lowered neighborhood standards and a lessening of property values. Insofar as this impression is valid in fact, it is a reflection of the economic condition of many members of these groups and a direct result of restricting all members of a color minority to inadequate areas of living. It follows from overcrowding. And as long as this overcrowding is possible and probable when minorities enter new areas, so long will there be opposition to

<sup>8</sup>. *Race Relations in Chicago* (Chicago: Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, 1946), p. 42.

<sup>9</sup>. *The Chicago Sun*, March 2, 1946.



them. What is needed, therefore, is a mechanism to remove the threat of overcrowding with the entrance of a new group. In such a setting, it will be possible to facilitate the entrance of minorities without occasioning the exodus of all previous residents. Race restrictive covenants will then appear as a clear-cut device to increase discriminations and devoid of their supposed economic validity.

### *Use of Occupancy Standards*

It has been proposed that occupancy standards be substituted for racial covenants. These agreements would specifically bar excessive roomers, commit owners and occupants to observe and assist in the enforcement of all ordinances and codes covering property, discourage departures from the established architectural design, and provide for participation in neighborhood associations for the preservation of community standards. They would offer the real protection to communities that race restrictive housing covenants are supposed to afford but do not.

Covenants based on occupancy standards would also become an important factor in removing racial covenants and other restrictive devices in improved and vacant areas. Such action would permit areas open to minority group occupancy to expand more normally. It would provide more space and housing units for colored people. This, in turn, would lessen the pressure upon other neighborhoods (ill-adapted from the economic point of view), permit selective infiltration of minorities into such areas, and reinforce the type of protection mentioned above.<sup>10</sup>

As this is being written, several communities are attempting to substitute occupancy standards for racial covenants. The device seems to be a practical one for discouraging the spread of residential segregation. At the same time, it is being proposed as a mode of protection for new areas which are being developed in the postwar housing program. Unless it, or some other device that accomplishes the purposes it is intended to achieve,

10. Robert Weaver, *Hemmed In* (Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1945), p. 12. This pamphlet, obtainable at the price of ten cents from the Council, sets forth the ABC's of race restrictive housing covenants.

is introduced, the years ahead will usher in the spread of residential segregation. In one community in Chicago where occupancy standards were substituted for racial covenants, Negroes have maintained their property at higher levels than previously existed in the area. This suggests a way to initiate the peaceful transition of the racial occupancy of neighborhoods and a means of preserving democratic racial patterns of living in new areas which will soon be built.<sup>11</sup>

### Segregation is the Key

We must concentrate upon action that will reduce the artificial separation of darker peoples from the rest of the population. Any program for bettering intergroup relations that ignores segregation or attempts to seek a way out within the framework of segregation is doomed to ultimate failure. The color-caste system is incompatible with equality of treatment or opportunity. It finds its strongest support and most constant symbol in racial segregation. People are set apart because they are assumed to be different, and in such a system the groups forced to remain outside the main stream of community life soon become identified as inferior groups. Segregation assures their inferiority by restricting them to inferior schools, slum life and economic exploitation.

Buell Gallagher, a long-time student of the color-caste system in the United States, has recently observed: "No matter what name is used, segregation is segregation. It establishes patterns of conflict and misunderstanding and hatred. It makes more problems than it solves. It denies the impulses of brotherhood and perpetuates in magnified form an injustice which it is powerless to correct."<sup>12</sup>

11. For a more detailed treatment of techniques to establish democratic housing in the forthcoming period of urban rehabilitation, see the present writer's "Housing in a Democracy," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1946, pp. 95-105.

12. Buell G. Gallagher, *Color and Conscience* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946).

# A Denominational

## Emphasis on Race Relations

By GALEN WEAVER

The Congregational Christian denomination has been doing a great deal about "the race problem" for a hundred years. The distinguished efforts of the American Missionary Association have become widely known lately, through its centennial celebrations across the country last year, the numerous stories in magazines, and Fred Brownlee's book, *New Day Ascending*.

Yet the General Council at Grinnell in June, 1946, apparently agreed with certain Congregational Christian leaders that we ought to be doing still more. Whether formulated or not, two reasons were doubtless influential. One was the uneasy conscience of white Christians who are developing a new and acute sense of shame over the sorry, repetitious tale of injustice, discrimination and segregation as practiced against various minority groups in our own country. We could hardly fight a foreign war against race arrogance and the glorification of caste without having the issue brought sharply into focus in our own country. We cannot consistently claim or attain moral leadership in the world community unless we face our own "American Dilemma"—the existence of color caste in the "democratic" United States. We are bound to be embarrassed and tongue-tied when we face the other nations so long as Negro Americans and other minorities suffer from lynchings; segregation in buses, trains and dwellings; inequities in employment, in health services, in education, and in recreational and cultural facilities; and serious disabilities in civic affairs. Our Christian conscience has caught up with us and will not let us rest until all men, women and children, re-

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Galen Weaver was called from a very significant pastorate at the Church of the Crossroads in Honolulu to direct the special emphasis on race in Congregational Christian churches during the next biennium.



ardless of the superficial differences we call "race," have full and equal access to the blessings of American life.

### *Justice Is Not Enough*

The second aspect of the matter as it bears upon us as Christians is the realization that benevolence towards the colored races, as long practiced among us, is not enough. Justice we surely want and will work for, because democracy cannot become vigorous enough to stand up to its rivals if it means less than that, and justice is a prerequisite for true brotherhood. But beyond justice there is the claim made upon us by brotherhood for intellectual and spiritual fellowship between equals. That imperative the Christian cannot answer by mere charity. Missions to the Africans and their descendants here and abroad—or to Japanese, Chinese, East Indians, American Indians, Filipinos, and the other "colored" folks at a distance—must be transformed into a fraternal acceptance in our own communities that disregards pigmentation of the skin in favor of the qualities of the heart and mind and spirit. Character, not color, must become the basis of an individualized judgment of the worthiness of a person. Much of the white man's behavior towards people of color has been condescending and such attitudes and practices are rightfully resented by all self-respecting persons. The paternalism often displayed by "superior" white men and women must be supplanted by fraternalism. Benevolence must be swallowed up in a bigger idea—brotherhood. And the Body of Christ must become the instrument for bringing this transformation to pass and be itself a living demonstration that it can be done.

### *Segregated Churches*

Of all places, there should be no color bar in "the house of prayer for all peoples." Is this too much to hope for? There are those who say it is and they point out how the Christian churches of all denominations have followed, with little or no twinge of conscience, up to very recent years, the segre-

gated patterns of the secular community. In fact, there are critics who assert that the Church is the most segregated of the major institutions in American society. As Will W. Alexander has pointed out, there may be few actual written rules against accepting colored minority persons into our white churches, but the attitude of the members of local Protestant churches toward the introduction of many persons of non-Caucasian ancestries is such as to discourage "mixed" churches. In very many cases, Christians of non-white groups have accepted, as the normal and even desirable thing, segregation in our worship of one God and Father of us all.

Church membership in this country is a symbol of the racial division of our society, and of the acquiescence of the churches in the racial separations enforced by the secular system about them. One of the most useful services the churches of this country could perform for our race relations would be to announce that they were out to make every local church in this country, where it was at all possible, interracial in its membership. And what is better, to set out to make church fellowship so broad that men of all kinds would feel in it a satisfaction that could be found nowhere else.<sup>1</sup>

### ***Actions at Grinnell***

The Grinnell General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches endorsed the stand taken in March, 1946, by the special post-war conference of the Federal Council of Churches, by renouncing *as a sin* the pattern of racial segregation in church and in community and pledging itself to work for "an unsegregated church in an unsegregated society." No higher body in our denomination can take action that becomes coercive upon local churches and individual church members, but Grinnell has lifted up a standard for good men and women to rally around. The General Council provided leadership for the growing conscience of Congregational Christians of the United States, in respect to its own boards and church-related

1. Will W. Alexander in a pamphlet entitled "Racial Segregation in the American Protestant Church," Friendship Press, N. Y., 1946.

institutions and for the Conferences, Associations and local churches. And it called for special emphasis in the denomination during the next two years on race relations.

Let it be acknowledged that the delegates were probably predominately of the more "socially minded" wing of our church membership. Certainly they were more largely ministers than lay people, and, among the lay persons, more largely women than men—therefore somewhat "unrepresentative." Also, they were very largely from the Northeastern and Middle Western parts of the country with only a very few from the Southeastern section of the country. In spite of all of these qualifications there was an unmistakable urgency in the action as taken that reflects, we believe, fairly faithfully the mind of our 6,000 churches—or the overwhelming majority of them.

### *Achievements Thus Far*

In the three months since the Director of the biennial emphasis has been at work, a national advisory committee of two hundred members has been set up, representative of our Conferences and City Unions, of our denominational boards and church agencies, and including specially informed and concerned people chosen at large. An enthusiastic and able executive committee of 29 has met twice and, with minimum loss of time, set in motion the first elements of a program which is instituting self-study by our church-related colleges and schools and by our denominational boards and Conferences, to discover and eradicate any color or caste discriminations and to develop richer and ampler opportunities for fellowship and full integration of individuals of all racial and national origins. Planning conferences have been held in Massachusetts and in Michigan and will soon be held in Ohio and in the Southeast, to consider how best to carry out the aims of the Grinnell resolution in special geographical areas. A series of round tables is being set up for early February by a special committee of the Southern California Conference. Pastors and responsible lay people from local churches in local



communities will be gathered in these round tables to confer regarding concrete steps to be taken in regard to racial problems in the community and in the direction of inclusive churchmanship. Other round tables are projected for Northern California, Washington-Oregon and Colorado. Invitations to speak to local or regional groups are coming to the Director in such volume from so many quarters that only a fraction can be accepted. A roster of speakers is being developed so that the message can be carried as widely as possible.

### SIN OF SEGREGATION

"We repent of the sin of racial segregation as practiced both within and outside our churches, and respond to the mandate of the Christian Gospel to promote with uncompromising word and purpose, the integration in our Christian churches and our democratic society of all persons of whatever race, color, or ancestry on the basis of equality and mutual respect in an inclusive fellowship." Quoted from the General Council resolution, Grinnell, 1946.

### *A Program of Action*

The program is geared for *action*, however, rather than *exhortation or talk*. The desire is to effect concrete changes in ideas, emotions and practices on the part of individual Congregational Christians and churches, and to bring about improvements in the community that will make a better way of life possible for minority people, to the end that they will cease to be minorities, and become, in truth, integral parts of our American democratic life. We look forward to the time when color will be as irrelevant to citizens, employers, governmental officials, and all others, as it is to the biologists and anthropologists. This realization must not be long delayed. The period is too fraught with crisis, the national and international scene too overshadowed, our human gains too precariously held to brook postponement of the legitimate hopes and expectations of our brothers of darker skin.

Will Alexander ends a judgment regarding our era with a searching question—

The nation, as it takes its place in the new world order, recognizes that it cannot carry into that order our American patterns of segregation. The tides of world affairs and world thought are against these. The customs and institutions of race segregation are outmoded. They are destined for an early end. The church can contribute more than any other institution to hasten this change. *Will it do so?*

### ***Allies and Foes***

Some of us may incline to less optimism regarding "an early end" to segregation and color caste in our country. Certainly there are important forces deploying against this gigantic evil. But there are also stubborn resistances which may become entrenched behind some fascist dictatorship that battens upon economic dislocations and mass unemployment. The church has a desperately difficult job on its hands. But, happily, it can count on vigorous and intelligent allies in many public school systems, and among such organizations as the American Council on Race Relations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, the Anti-Defamation League, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, numerous liberal newspapers, and some 200 civic unity bodies in cities and towns. The Young Women's Christian Association and the United Council for Church Women will give able support.

In concert with all such active partners, the churches may be able to turn the trick, especially if the moral prestige of white supremacy is punctured by a clean and unequivocal renunciation of racist nonsense as not only untrue to facts and vicious in its effects but a sin before the face of God. If the ethical and spiritual resources of religious faith can be mobilized for this effort, the outcome is certain. This is one of the turning points of destiny. Surely the will of God in this matter is incontrovertibly clear. It remains for us to obey it, contritely and courageously.

# The Emergence of the *Interracial Church*

By HOMER A. JACK

Within the past decade there has been a significant dissolution of the Jim Crow pattern in several institutions in our society: industry, unions, schools, government. Yet the Christian church has continued to remain one of the most segregated of all institutions—North as well as South. Within the pattern of bi-racialism, and across it, an increasing number of Christians have tried to help solve intergroup tensions. Churchmen have urged, and with some success, that restaurants, real estate men, and police chiefs act with equality and justice toward Negroes. A few churchmen have seen the inconsistency of this position unless at the same time reform is directed toward the racial practice of church-related agencies such as publishing houses, philanthropic institutions, and schools. Still fewer churchmen have begun to solve one of the hardest problems of all: making the church a church for all peoples in constituents and in program.

Here and there, all over America, the interracial church is beginning at last to develop. The purpose of the interracial church is simply to make the existing church interracial. The Detroit Church of All Peoples, for example, aptly indicates in its prospectus that "our church is designed, not as a pressure group, a separate holier-than-thou group, or as a personalization of judgment upon the other churches; but as a working experience of Christian worship, fellowship and practice on a basis which ignores the unreal and superficial differences of 'race'." The purpose, then, of the interracial church is to create a pattern by which it will seem natural and

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Mr. Jack, a Unitarian minister, is executive secretary of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, secretary of the Chicago Division of the American Civil Liberties Union, and a member of the Commission on Interracial Relations of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago.



practical for existing churches more nearly to adopt this interracial ideal.

Great obstacles have been found in the way of trying to make the church interracial. The dead weight of custom, the blunted conscience of some Christians, the segregated communities—all have made this process more difficult. Yet there have been some significant trials and successes in the last few years.

### *Churches Nominally Interracial*

There are a number of churches which are nominally interracial. For example, the First Unitarian Church of Rochester, New York, has one Negro member. The Woodlawn A.M.E. Church of Chicago has several white members. The Community Church of New York has a small proportion of Negro members, some participating actively in the church organization, but it continues to have an all-white ministry. None of these churches is truly interracial. The token representation of the "other race" merely accentuates the caste nature of these and most other American churches.

Because of the disinclination or inability of most churches to absorb active members of other races, more creative and conscious methods have recently been attempted to bring peoples together for worship and other forms of religious brotherhood. The first step has been the interracial and often interfaith fellowship. This probably originated out of the interracial and interfaith worship services which have been carried on for a number of years during Brotherhood Month. If Negroes and whites can worship together on Interracial Sunday, why can't they do so more often than once a year? Thus developed the Fellowship Church in Philadelphia, soon followed by similar ones in Baltimore, New York, and Washington—and more recently in Columbus, Ohio.

### *Interracial Religious Fellowships*

THE FELLOWSHIP CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA (%)

1431 Brown Street) was established in 1936 so "that they may all be one." It is now sponsored by the Department of Race Relations of the Philadelphia Federation of Churches and Fellowship House. Worship services are held on the third Sunday afternoon of each month, October to May, at various Philadelphia churches and synagogues. Distinguished ministers and rabbis are invited to lead these worship services. Most of the church activities are channeled through Fellowship House, although the church maintains an interracial Fellowship choir, a Children's Church (meeting simultaneously with the adult church), and "pilgrimages" to other churches. The latter consist of mixed groups which visit churches and synagogues where they share in the worship service, answer questions, and invite interested persons to cooperate with the interracial Fellowship Church.

THE INTERRACIAL FELLOWSHIP OF GREATER NEW YORK (215 West 133rd Street) was founded in the winter



—Walter B. Baker

Part of the group at the "Fellowship Hour" following the Sunday worship service at the Interracial Fellowship of Greater New York.

of 1942-43 under the leadership of the Rev. James H. Robinson and the Rev. Ralph H. Rowse in order to "help the church of Christ fulfill her mission as a brotherhood of all races." Today the program of the Fellowship includes monthly Sunday afternoon worship services (meeting in different churches), an interracial choir, counseling, and civic action. Depending entirely on voluntary leadership during the first two years of its existence, the Fellowship now has an annual budget of \$6,400 and a full-time executive secretary.

The transition from the interracial fellowship to the interracial church is not necessarily difficult. But a few groups have begun as interracial churches.

### *Genuinely Interracial Churches*

THE DETROIT CHURCH OF ALL PEOPLES (2230 Witherell, Detroit 1, Michigan) was established in July, 1945, under the sponsorship of the Detroit Council of Churches to develop a church of all racial groups which would be a non-competitive and wholly integrated Protestant church. The church meets every Sunday at 4:30 p.m. at St. Andrew's Memorial Episcopal Church for a vesper hour service, its social action committee meets every Monday evening, and there are social, educational, and direct action projects to implement its endeavor. The church now has 140 members and a budget of \$6,700. At present the only full-time leadership is provided by Rev. Ellsworth M. Smith, although the church is seeking additional funds to employ a second minister.

THE SAN FRANCISCO FELLOWSHIP CHURCH OF ALL PEOPLES (2142 Pierce Street) was founded in December, 1943, by Dr. Alfred G. Fisk with aid from the Presbyterian War Fund. Begun as "The Neighborhood Church—Interracial," in the Fillmore Negro district, the church had, in addition to Dr. Fisk, several Negro co-pastors. In July, 1944, Dr. Howard Thurman was granted a leave of absence as Dean of the Chapel of Howard University to help develop



the church. Soon thereafter the church broadened its service to the total San Francisco community, rather than confining its efforts to its neighborhood area. The weekly worship service is held on Sunday mornings, with the co-ministers alternating in the preaching. Other services include a summer fellowship camp, a monthly fellowship dinner with an intercultural motif, a monthly twilight vesper hour, and an adult religious education study group. Now meeting in the auditorium of the Theatre Arts Colony in downtown San Francisco and independent of any denominational control, the church has an average Sunday morning attendance of 175 persons of all races and faiths and an annual budget of \$12,000.

THE SOUTH B E R K E L E Y CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH is of particular interest because it is a community church. Located in a transition area populated increasingly by Negroes, the church has an interracial ministry: Roy Nichols and Dr. Buell Gallagher. It is supported by the Congregational denomination and has a full church program, with participation by Negroes in the immediate neighborhood and whites in the whole Berkeley area. A similar and even more natural development is the interracial SOUTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF CHICAGO under the magnificent leadership of Howard Spragg and William Lovell.

There are a number of other interracial churches. THE CHURCH OF ALL PEOPLE, Los Angeles (3330 West Adams Blvd.) has recently been established in affiliation with the Congregational Conference. It is located in a high-class, unrestricted residential area. Its ministry is Negro, Japanese American, and Caucasian. THE CODORNICES VILLAGE FELLOWSHIP OF CHURCH MEMBERS (1133 Ninth Street, Apt. F, Berkeley-Albany, California) grew out of the needs of residents in a war housing project. It is interdenominational and interracial, with Negro and white co-pastors. It maintains a regular church program: Sunday school, morning and evening services, chorus, women's circle and family fun

night. It meets in the Community Building of the housing development. Cleveland established an interracial church in the spring of 1946 after a conference on the problem.

The experience of interracial churches has raised several problems, notably those of membership, location and program.

The *first* problem facing the interracial church is one of membership and ultimate aim. Should the interracial church be a new and separate institution or primarily a training school from which church members graduate to return to their original churches? One objection often raised about the interracial church is that, far from being an example to the traditional church, it conveniently drains off and monopolizes those very persons who are most concerned about making their own churches interracial. Most interracial churches have, however, tried hard not to detract from the intergroup programs of existing churches and they have not tried to compete for members with other churches. The Detroit church, for example, schedules its principal worship service at a time which will not conflict with the usual services of other churches. Further, this church stresses associate membership, so those who have a major loyalty to another church can carry back the interracial idea. And even in those interracial churches which welcome full members, it is probable that those members who were previously churched will continue to influence their former churches.

### ***Relation to Tension Areas***

A *second* and equally serious problem facing the interracial church is one of location. How can the interracial church become effective in the local neighborhood where tensions are acute? The city-wide, interracial church may attract many members, pass fine resolutions, maintain interesting intercultural programs, yet be but little more prepared than the traditional church to act in changing neighborhoods and in Negro-white tension areas. The actual experiences of interracial

churches in this realm are too few. Yet the interracial church must be located so that it can act in these local tension situations. Perhaps more efforts should be put on the city-wide, interracial church located, not in a downtown area near maximum transportation facilities, but in a tension area, and drawing people from the immediate neighborhood as well as from the rest of the city and its suburbs. Perhaps some efforts should be made toward the experimental yet natural merging of two compatible community congregations—Negro and white—in a tension area to form an interracial community church.

### *Breadth of Program*

A *third* problem facing the interracial church is that of the program. How self-conscious can the interracial church be? Need every sermon and service stress minority problems? Is the interracial church to become a religious international house? It is too early to answer most of these questions. Certainly interracial fellowship must be a center of commitment. The San Francisco Fellowship, for example, urges its members "to desire to have a part in the unfolding of the ideal of Christian fellowship through the union of men and women of varying national, cultural, racial, or credal heritage in church communion." The New York Fellowship attests that "from many racial, religious, and cultural backgrounds we have joined together in a common endeavor to help the Church of Christ fulfill her mission as a brotherhood of all races." But the statement goes on to affirm that "through fellowships like this (there will be) a world free from injustice and segregation." Here, it seems, is the beginning of major concern in the interracial church for economic and international justice as well as for ethnic justice. For while the interracial church is a critic of the white or the Negro church, to function in a sustained manner it must also be a critic of the capitalistic church, the militaristic church, the isolationist church, the secular church.

The interracial church is belatedly arising in various parts



of America and it is in a healthy state of experimentation. It still must solve problems of membership, location, and program. In doing so it might emerge as a new interdenominational and perhaps interfaith organization having the militant but separatist quality of the sect. But its prime function must be that of making it easier—by example—for existing racial churches, white and black, to become interracial.

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## *A Check List of Procedures* For Racial Integration

By LISTON POPE

Problems of racial discrimination and segregation are inextricable from the total fabric of a society, and any effort to isolate peculiar solutions for these problems results in false abstractions. Adequate provisions for dealing with possible unemployment and psychological reaction, with the price of cotton, and with regional inequalities in the distribution of wealth—to give only a few instances—are of critical importance for a successful attack on the disadvantages and tensions which gather around minorities. Most problems of minorities are basically problems of the majority.

The church in its institutional life has adopted patterns of segregation as completely as any other major institution of our society. Yet it seeks to offer a faith and an example from which struggling groups can take courage. Without deep repentance and radical cleansing of itself, any proposals which it offers will comprise effrontery. At the same time the church must speak to the conscience of society and act courageously within the community.

No single pattern for action by the churches can be universally applicable. Nor is it possible to compose a nicely graded program; the most rudimentary activity in some settings would be highly inflammatory in others and vice versa. In view of these difficulties, it must be left to each Christian and to the Christian churches to weigh the following lines of action for themselves.

Liston Pope is Associate Professor of Social Ethics at Yale Divinity School, and editor of *Social Action*. He is a native of North Carolina.

*A. All Christians and church bodies should:*

1. Fight nativist organizations and programs, including those that parade under the banner of religion, which seek to arouse or capitalize on suspicion, fear and hate. Conversely, support movements, whether secular or religious, that promote understanding and seek to safeguard the civil rights and liberties of all groups in the population.

2. Seek by all legitimate means to break down patterns of segregation by which individuals and groups are disadvantaged or insulted, whether within churches, industry, trade unions, the armed services, housing, education, public facilities, the veterans administration, or any other sphere.

3. Examine all rumors and bugaboos openly and honestly, and seek to discover the actual facts and effective counter-measures.

4. Violate racial taboos that discriminate unfairly. Hold church meetings only in places where there will be no segregation of delegates because of race or color.



—Acme

Walter White (right), Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Rev. Maynard Jackson, of Dallas, Texas, appear before the 1944 Democratic Convention sub-committee on resolutions to ask for a strong statement protesting economic discrimination against minorities. Church people are urged to support such organizations as the NAACP which are actively seeking greater justice for the Negro.

5. Take the lead in the relocation of displaced minorities from the United States or abroad, including especially the Jew, the Japanese American, and the Negro migrants to industrial cities of the North.

6. Influence public officials and legislation in favor of such measures as the repeal of the poll tax, elimination of the white primary, equal treatment of all nations under the immigration laws, the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee nationally and in each state and city.

***B. Christians as individuals should:***

1. Realize that individual conduct and personal example may make a tremendous difference in intergroup relations. Remember that segregation and discrimination are expressed and enforced in their own *usual* modes of conduct in bus, train, factory, restaurant, theatre, church—and that only by deliberate effort can they break the patterns and repeal the laws by which discriminatory barriers are maintained.

2. Avoid derogatory names and stories concerning persons of a minority group.

3. Form friendships across group lines. Identify oneself with a minority group insofar as possible; for example, Caucasians will frequently be welcomed in non-Caucasian congregations even where interracial congregations are at the moment inadvisable.

4. Extend the common courtesies and titles of address to all persons of all groups.

5. Cultivate in the home an atmosphere of respect for all peoples. Select table topics, movies, music, books, games, which will help children to grow up with appreciation and without bias toward other groups.

6. Treat domestic servants as employees rather than as members of a racial group, as persons and citizens having the same rights and privileges as any other persons and citizens. Pay a security wage for decent hours.

7. Encourage employment and demonstrate willingness to work with members of minority groups in all businesses, institutions and organizations. For example, give consideration to the thousands of highly educated, experienced Negro secretaries, teachers, professors, physicians, nurses, chemists, accountants, salespeople.

8. Speak out against segregation and discrimination in restaurants, hotels, recreation facilities, industry, etc. Commend and patronize those businesses and public facilities which sell to and employ persons without consideration of race, creed or color.



9. Become informed as to the facts of racial, nationality and religious groups. Read books by and about members of minority groups. Subscribe to papers and magazines issued by them. Give subscriptions to other persons who might profit from them.

10. Write to public officials, newspapers and magazines; commend brotherly practice, condemn discriminatory practice.

### *C. Christian ministers should:*

1. Help to create an atmosphere of reverence for minority heroes and minority rights. For example, hang pictures of such leaders in the study, the church school rooms, the parsonage, the public library. Draw sermons and illustrations from the problems and achievements of members of minorities.

2. Set a personal example of intergroup association. A Caucasian minister and a Negro minister can plant a garden together in some visible place, and visit publicly (with their families) in each other's homes.

3. Call on new families in the community without regard to racial or cultural group.

4. Perform all ministerial offices without regard to the racial or ethnic affiliations of those receiving them.

5. Organize interracial and inter-religious ministers' "retreats," and clergy councils which include all the ministers of the community.

6. Commend publicly organizations and individuals working for better inter-group relations. Remind the church and church-related institutions of their obligation to act in keeping with their professed principles.

### SURVEY OF INTER-RACIAL CHURCHES

In January, 1945, The American Missionary Association canvassed 3,800 Congregational-Christian ministers to determine the number of churches having racial and nationality minority groups represented in their congregations. These clergymen were selected for the interest they had shown over the years in improving group relationships in America. Responses indicated 388 churches with non-white minority persons in their congregations.

A majority of these churches are located in small towns or close-knit neighborhoods where only one, two or three non-white families reside.

A more detailed questionnaire was sent to the 388 "mixed" churches and data were secured from 189 of them. Significantly, only 14 or 7 per cent of the 189 churches indicated that their non-white memberships consisted of 10 or more persons; each of the remainder had less than 10 non-white members.

In all but four of the fourteen churches less than 7.5 per cent of the total membership was non-white. The percentages of the other four churches were 16, 50, 58 and 65 per cent respectively.

7. Seek opportunities for representatives of minority groups to appear before church meetings, civic clubs, radio audiences, and other public gatherings.

***D. Local churches should:***

1. Afford ample opportunity for study and first-hand acquaintance with minority peoples and problems, through joint activity, forums, courses of study, films, speakers from minority groups, joint meetings of congregations or young people's societies, and the like. Invite members of other nationality, racial and religious groups to visit the church, to explain their festivals, to teach their folk songs and games. Observe Brotherhood Month and Race Relations Sunday each year, using the materials provided and the various techniques suggested.

2. Urge church members to refuse to sign restrictive housing covenants, under the certainty that the covenants will collapse if a small minority refuses to sign them.

3. Encourage employers and union officials who are church members to take the lead in admitting members of minority groups to employment and union affiliation without discrimination.

4. Choose a co-pastor from a minority group. Encourage theological seminaries to afford training to such ministers, and to provide field experience for all theological students in working with groups other than their own.

5. Organize an interracial choir as a regular feature of the church services.

6. Announce on the church bulletin board and in the church notices in the newspapers that services of the church are open to all worshippers without discrimination by race or color or national origin—that is, provided the church is willing to take this stand.

7. Deliberately plan interracial worship services, communion suppers, and social gatherings under the aegis of the church.

8. Conduct interracial vacation schools, summer camps, and other activities for the children and young people of the church, in collaboration with a church composed of another racial group. Promote inter-church visitation and continual cooperation.

9. Build, if possible, a genuinely interracial congregation and program, by merging with some other church or by seeking members from different racial groups.

***E. A denomination should:***

1. Enrich its leadership with able and representative members of



minority groups on its committees and staff and in its denominational programs.

2. Examine and reexamine its denominational literature from the standpoint of interracial and intercultural perspectives and material.

3. Utilize experience gained in missionary work for the illumination of interracial problems at home, and vice versa.

4. Use intercultural displays and speakers at denominational meetings, special emphases, and summer conferences.

5. Train nurses and internes and admit patients without discrimination or segregation in denominational hospitals. Admit all applicants to other denominational institutions (publishing houses, schools, colleges, seminaries, homes for children and for the aged, etc.) without discrimination on account of race. Elect as trustees and directors of these institutions persons who can be trusted to carry out such policies.

6. Provide that restaurants, housing facilities, and other property owned by the denomination shall not be associated with racial exploitation, discrimination, or segregation.

7. Invest denominational funds in housing projects open to members of minority groups, and in other such projects which are remunerative socially as well as financially.

8. Abolish quotas, inquiries about race on application blanks, and other restrictive devices in admittance of students to denominational schools, colleges, and seminaries. Furnish housing and meals to all students equally. Prohibit fraternities or other student groups which bar members on racial grounds. Appoint members of the staffs and faculties without discrimination on account of race. Train leadership by strong courses in the curricula on interracial problems, and by building up library collections which are widely available.

9. Insofar as separate educational institutions for minorities continue to exist, give special support to such institutions. Provide special scholarships and endowment, aid in improving libraries, skilled teachers of religion, and other aid likely to be foregone otherwise.

10. Work toward the abolition of segregated jurisdictions, presbyteries, and ecclesiastical associations which represent barriers on account of race, and seek to transform denominations into interracial bodies.

11. Where possible constitutionally, pass legislation outlawing discrimination within the denomination on grounds of race, color, or national origin.



## Recent Books on Race

- Brownlee, Fred, *New Day Ascending*, Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1946. The story of the American Missionary Association's work in interracial relations.
- Corrigan, Joseph M. and O'Toole, G. B. (eds.), *Race, Nation, Person: Social Aspects of the Race Problem*, New York: Barnes & Noble, 1944. A symposium of Roman Catholic viewpoints.
- Davis, Jerome, *Behind Soviet Power*, New York: Readers' Press, 1946. Contains an informative chapter summarizing Soviet race policy.
- Drake, St. Clair and Cayton, Horace R., *Black Metropolis*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1945. Powerful, intensive study of the life of Negroes in Chicago.
- Gallagher, Buell G., *Portrait of a Pilgrim*, New York: Friendship Press, 1946. The story of a Christian minister's efforts to do something about the race problems in his own community.
- Gallagher, Buell G., *Color and Conscience: The Irrepressible Conflict*, New York: Harpers, 1946. Problems of color caste brought under the "scrutiny of an unsentimental ethical religion."
- Halsey, Margaret, *Color Blind*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1946. A captain of a group of hostesses in an interracial canteen for service men during the war tells of the techniques she worked out for racial integration.
- Johnson, C. S. and Associates, *Into the Main Stream: A Survey of Best Practices in Race Relations in the South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Source book of practical experiments that have been and are now being carried on in the South.
- MacIver, R. M. (ed.), *Civilization and Group Relationships*, New York: Harpers, 1945. Problems of minority peoples dealt with as part of the general problem of group cleavage in Western culture.
- Matsumoto, Toru, *Beyond Prejudice: A Story of the Church and Japanese Americans*, New York: Friendship Press, 1946. Study of the part the church has played in the life of Japanese Americans from the establishment of the first Japanese church on the west coast to the present.
- Martin, Ralph G., *Boy From Nebraska: The Story of Ben Kuroki*, New York: Harpers, 1946. A Japanese-American World War II hero tells of his fight against prejudice in the army and in America after his return. A book "to make a white man ashamed."
- Parkes, James, *An Enemy of the Peace: Anti-Semitism*, New York: Penguin Books, 1946. A popularly written, hard-hitting book on the religious, economic and social sources and manifestations of anti-Semitism.
- Soper, Edmund D., *Racism: A World Issue*, Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1946. Written by a well-known student of the world outreach of Christianity.
- Sperry, Willard L. (ed.), *Religion and Our Racial Tensions*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945. (One of a series on "Religion in the Postwar World"). A variety of viewpoints, but a common concern among the authors that the churches begin to act rather than just talk about racial tensions.
- Weaver, Robert C., *Negro Labor, A National Problem*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1946. Authoritative, comprehensive study of Negro employment during the war, the role of the government and the wartime FEPC, and issues now influencing "last hired, first fired policies."